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A discouerie of the treasons practised and attempted against the Queenes Maiestie and the Realme, by *Francis Throckemorton*, who *was for the same arraigned and condemned in* Guyld Hall, in the Citie of London, *the one and twentie day of* May last past,

1584.

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To the Reader.

THere is in this short discourse deliuered vnto thee (gentle reader) a true report of the treasons and practises of *Francis Throckemorton*, and his complices against the Queenes Maiestie and the Realme: which comming to my handes by chance from a gentleman, to whom it was sent into the Countrey, I haue presumed to cõmit the same to the print, to the ende that such as in opinion and conceite are not satisfied, touching the matters proued against him, and the course of proceeding helde with him, might by the sight thereof (if trueth and reason may perswade them) bee resolued of all such doubtes and scruple as haue risen by the variable reportes made of the qualitie of his offences, and the maner of dealing vsed towards him: for the better knowledge whereof, I referre thee to the declaration following, and so commit thee to God.

BIBLIOTHECA · BODLEIANA

A letter sent from a Gentleman of Lions Inne to his friend, concerning Francis Throckemorton, who was arraigned and condemned of high Treason.

SIr, with my last letters of the first of Iune, I sent vnto you in writing the arraignement of Francis Throckmorton, *penned by a gentleman of good skill and credite, being present at the same: and because it hath seemed vnto some that there is some scruple in your conceite touching the sufficiencie of the euidence produced against him, I haue for your better satisfaction endeauored to attaine to more particular knowledge thereof, and by the meanes of a secret friend, there is come vnto my hands, a verie perfect declaration of the whole proceedings holde by such as were in commission for the examining of him before his triall, containing the materiall pointes of the treasons by him confessed, whereunto there is annexed a submission written by* Francis Throckemorton *to the Queenes Maiestie, the fourth of Iune, whereby he acknowledgeth that hee hath vntruely and vndutifully denied his former confessions, & vnder his owne hand writing hath eftsoones repeated and confessed the same confessions to be true (some fewe things onely detracted, but of no moment:) which may in mine opinion remoue all matter of doubt or scruple conceiued by you or by any other of his iust condemnation. You knowe howe well I haue alwayes loued the man, and delighted to conuerse with him in respect of the good partes wherewith he was indued, and of the pleasant humour that for the most part did possesse him when hee came in companie of friendes, yeelding at no time (to my seeing) any shew or suspicion, to haue bene a dealer in matters of that qualitie: & therefore I cannot but pitie his misfortune the more, wishing all men to make profite of his fall, and to note, that miserie and calamitie of this kinde, doeth for the most part followe such as forget God, to whose protection I committe you. From Lyons Inne, the 15 of Iune. 1584.*

Your assured friend. Q. Z.

A true and perfect declaration of the Treasons practised and attempted by Francis Throckemorton, late of London, against the Queenes Maiestie and the Realme.

WHereas there haue bene very lewde and slaunderous bruites and reportes giuen out, of the due and orderly proceedings held with *Francis Throckmorton* lately arraigned and condemned of high treason at the Guildhall in London the xxii. day of May last, whereby such as are euill affected toward her maiestie, and the present gouernement, haue indeuoured falsely and iniuriously to charge her Maiestie and her faithfull ministers with crueltie and iniustice vsed against the said *Throckemorton*, by extorting from him by torture, such confessiõs as he hath made against himselfe, and by inforcing the same to make them lawful euidence to conuict him of the treasons therein specified: Albeit her Maiesties subiects in generall, calling to minde y^ milde and temperate course she hath holde all the time of her most happie Reigne, might rather implute her clemencie and lenitie vsed towards all sortes of offenders to a kinde of fault, then taxe her w^ the contrarie: yet such as allowe of practises and treasons against her Maiestie, do alwayes interprete both of the one and of the other, according to the particular affections that doe possesse them, that is, to the worst. And forasmuch as the case of *Throckemorton* at this time hath bene subiect to their sinister constructions, and considering that lies and false bruites cast abroad are most commonly beleeued, vntil they be controlled by

the trueth, it hath bene thought expedient in this short discourse to deliuer vnto your viewe and consideration, a true and perfect declaration of the treasons practised and attempted by the said *Throckemorton* against her Maiestie and the Realme, by him confessed before his arraignement, whereby her Maiestie was iustly and in reason perswaded to put him to his triall. You shall likewise perceiue what course hath bene held with him by her Commissioners to bring him to confesse the trueth: with what impudencie and howe falsely hee hath denied his sayings and confessions: And lastly, how by a new submission & confession of his said treasons sithens his condemnation, he endeuoureth to falsifie her Maiestie, and to shewe the reasons that mooued him to denie the first, which hee affirmeth and confirmeth by the last: which may, in reason satisfie, though not all, yet such as are not forestalled, or rather forepoysoned and infected with the lyes and vntruthes alreadie spred and deliuered in fauour of the traitor and his treasons. You shall therefore vnderstande, that the cause of his apprehension grewe first vpon secret intelligence giuen to the Queenes Maiestie, that hee was a priuie conueiour and receiuour of letters to and from the Scottish Queene, vpon which information neuertheless diuers moneths were suffered to passe on, before hee was called to answere the matter, to the end there might some proofe more apparant be drad to charge him therewith directly: which shortly after fell out, and thereupon there were sent vnto his houses in London, and at Leusham in Kent, to search and apprehend him, certaine gentlemen of no meane credite and reputation: of whom, two were sent to his house by Poules wharfe, where hee was apprehended, and so by one of them conuayed presently away, the other remaining in the chamber to make search for papers, writings, &c. which might giue proofe of his suspected practises.

In that search, there were found the two papers containing

ning the names of certaine Catholique Noblemen and gentlemen, expressing the Hauens for landing of forraine forces, with other particularities in the sayd papers mencioned, the one written in the Secretarie hand, (which he at the Barre confessed to be his owne hand writing) and the other in the Romane hand, which he denied to be his, and would not shew how the same came vnto his hands: howbeit in his examinatiōs hee hath confessed them both to bee his owne hand writing, and so they are in trueth. There were also found among other of his papers, twelue petidegrees of the discent of the Crowne of England, printed and published by the Bishop of Rosse, in the defence of the pretended title of the Scottish Queene his Mistresse, with certaine infamous libelles against her Maiestie printed & published beyond the seas; which being found in the handes of a man so euill affected, comparing the same with his doings and practises against her Maiestie, you will iudge the purpose wherefore he kept them.

Shortly after his apprehension, hee was examined by some of her Maiesties priuie counsell, how he came by the said two papers of the Hauens, and hee most impudently denied with many protestations that he neuer sawe them, affirming they were none of his, but were foisted in (as hee termed it) among his papers by the gentlemen that searched his house. Notwithstanding being more earnestly pressed to confesse the trueth, hee said they had bene left (he knewe not how) in his chamber by a man of his, who not long before was departed out of the Realme, named *Edward Rogers, alias Nuttebie*, by whome they were written. And to make this deuice to carie some colour of trueth, after his committing to the Tower, hee found the meanes to get three Cardes, on the backeside of which Cardes he wrote to his brother *George Throckemorton* to this effect: *I haue bene examined by whom the two papers conteining the names of certaine Noblemen and gentlemen, and of Hauens &c. were written, and I haue alleaged*

ged them to haue been written by Edward Nutteby my man, of whose hande writing you knewe them to bee: Meaning by this deuice to haue had his brother confirme his falsehode. These Cardes were intercepted; and thereby the suspition before conceiued of his practises increased, whereupon, as vpon other iust cause and matter against him, hauing bene sundrie times brought before some of the principall personages of her Maesties most honorable priuie counsell, and by them with all industrie examined, and perswaded in very milde and charitable maner, to confesse the trueth, promising to procure pardon for him, in case hee would bewray the depth of his practises; but no persuasion preuailing, her Maestie thought it agreeable with good policie, and the safetie of her Royal person and state, to commit him ouer to the handes of some of her learned counsel and others her faithfull seruants and ministers, with commission to them, to assay by torture to drawe from him the trueth of the matters appearing so waightie as to concerne the inuading of the Realme, &c. These men by vertue of that Commission, proceeded with him, first as the counsell had formerly done by way of persuasiō, to induce him to confesse: but finding that course not to preuaile, they were constrained to commit him to such as are vsually appointed in the Towre to handle the Racke, by whom he was layde vpon the same, and some what pinched, although not much: for at the ende of three dayes following, he had recouered himselfe, and was in as good plight as before the time of his racking, which if it had then or at any other time bene ministred vnto him with that violēce that he and his fauourers haue indeuoured slaunderously to giue out, the signes thereof would haue appeared vpon his limmes for many yeeres. At this first time of torture, he would confesse nothing, but continued in his former obstinacie and denisall of the trueth. The second time that hee was put to the Racke, before hee was strayned vp to any purpose, hee yeelded to confesse any thing

hee knewe, in the matters obiected against him: whereupon he was loosed, and then the Commissioners proceeded with him according to such Interrogatories as had bene deliuered vnto them, which for the more breuitie shall here bee omitted, the intent of this declararion tending onely to discouer vnto you the treasons and treacherous dealings of the sayd *Francis Throckemorton* as well before as sithens his imprisonment, for your better knowledge of the man, and manifestation of the due and iust proceedings held with him by her Maiesties Commissioners appointed to that seruice. And here you are to note, that when hee was first pressed to discouer by whom the plottes of the Hauens were sette downe, and to what purpose, he began (without any further interrogation ministred) by way of an historicall narration, to declare that at his being at Spaw in the Countrie of *Liege* certaine yeeres past, he entred into conference with one *Ienney* a notorious knowen Traitor, touching the altering of the state of the Realme here, & how the same might be attempted by forrame inuasion, and to the like effect had sundrie conferences with Sir *Francis Englefield* in the lowe Countreis, who daily solicited the Spanish King in Spaine, & his Gouernours in the said Countreies, to attempt the inuading of the Realme, continued a course of practising against her Maiestie and the state, by letters betweene Sir *Frauncis Englefielde* and himselfe, vntill within these two yeeres last past, and that he did from time to time acquaint Sir *Iohn Throckemorton* his late father with his traiterous practises, who (as he said) seeing no probabilitie of successe in them, dissuaded him frō any further medling w̄ those practises.

He hath further confessed, ỹ hee vsed his Fathers aduise & opinion in setting downe the names of the Catholique Noblemen and Gentlemen, and did acquaint him with the descriptions of the Hauens for the landing of forces, which he conceiued and put in writing onely by view of the Mappe, and not by particular sight or suruey of the

said Hauens.

Item, he hath also confessed, that vpon the intermission of writing of letters, and the accustomed intelligences passed betweene Sir *Francis Englefield* and him, hee was made acquainted by his brother *Thomas Throckemorton*, by letters & conference, and by *Thomas Morgan* by letters (two of the principall confederates and workers of these treasons residing in France) with a resolute determination agreed on by the Scottish Queene and her confederats in France and in other forraine partes, and also in Englande, for the inuading of the Reame.

That the *Duke of Guyse* should be the principall leader and executer of that inuasion.

That the *pretention* (which should bee publiquely notified) should be to deliuer the Scottish Queene to libertie and to procure euen by force from the Queenes Maiestie, a tolerance in religion for the pretẽded Catholiques: But the *intention*, (the bottome whereof should not at the first be made known to all men) should bee vpon the Queenes Maiesties resistance, to remooue her Maiestie from her Crowne and state.

That the *Duke of Guyse* had prepared the forces, but there wanted two things, money, and the assistance of a conuenient partie in England, to ioyne with the forraine forces, and a third thing, howe to set the Scottish Queene at libertie without perill of her person.

For, y first thing wanting, *viz.* money, messengers were sent from forraine partes both to Rome & Spaine, & their returne daily expected to their liking: And the Spanish Ambassador to encourage the English to ioyne both in purse and person, did giue out, that the King his Master would not onely make some notable attempt against Englande, but also would beare halfe the charge of the enterprise. For the second thing, *viz.* the preparing of a sufficient partie in England, to receiue and to ioyne with the forraine forces, one especiall messenger was sent ouer

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into England in August last, vnder a counterfaite name from the confederates in France, to signifie the platte and preparation there, and to sollicite the same here.

That *Thomas Throckemorton* his brother made him priuie to his negotiation at his last being here in England, and that thereupon *Francis Throckemorton* tooke vpon him to be a follower and meane for the effectuating thereof among the confederates in England, with the helpe of the Spanish Ambassadour, whom he instructed howe, and with whome to deale for the preparing of a conuenient partie heere within the Realme, for that himselfe woulde not be seene to be a sounder of men, lest hee might be discouered, and so endanger himselfe & the enterprise, knowing that the Ambassadour being a publique person, might safely deale therein without perill.

That the *Duke of Guyse* and other heads of the enterprise had refused some landing places, and made speciall choyse of Sussex, and about Arundel in Sussex, both for the neere cutte from the parts of Fraunce, where the *Duke* did or best could assemble his force, and for the oportunitie of assured persons to giue assistance, &c.

That hee, taking vpon him the pursuite of this course, shewed the whole plotte and deuise of the hauens for landing to the Spanish Ambassador, who did incourage him therein, he promising, that if hee might haue respite vntill the next spring, the same should be done more exactly.

That at the time of *Thomas Throckemortons* being here, least the negotiation of the enterprise, by some casualtie might faile in the only hand of one man *Thomas Throckemorton*, there was also from the confederats sent ouer into Sussex, *Charles Paget*, vnder the name of *Mope, alias Spring*, and thereof an aduertisement couertly sent to *Thomas Throckmorton*, both that Thomas might vnderstande it, and not be offended that another was ioyned with him in his labour.

That the Spanish Ambassadour by aduertisements frō

the confederates, was made priuie to this comming of *Charles Paget* vnder the name of *Mope*, and yet knowen to him to be *Charles Paget*.

That the ſaid ambaſſadour did according to his ſayde aduertiſements, knowe and affirme that *Charles Paget* was come ouer to view the hauens and Countrey for landing of ſuch forraine forces about Arundell, and ſperially to ſound and conferre with certaine principall perſons for aſſiſtance.

The ſame Ambaſſadour alſo knewe and affirmed, that *Charles Paget* had accordingly done his meſſage, and had ſpoken with ſome principall perſons heere, according to his commiſsion, and was returned.

Hee moreouer confeſſed that there was a deuice betweene the ſpaniſh Ambaſſadour and him, howe ſuch principall Recuſants here within the Realme as were in the Commiſſion of the peace in ſundrie Counties, might vpon the firſt bruite of the landing of forraine forces, vnder colour and pretext of their authoritie and the defence of her Maieſtie, leuie men, whome they might after ioyne to the forraine forces, and conuert them againſt her Maieſtie.

In theſe fewe articles is briefly compriſed the whole effect of his confeſſiō made at large without any Interrogatorie particularly miniſtred, other then vpon the two papers before mentioned, contayning the names of men and hauens. And heere you are to note that at the time of his apprehenſion, there was no knowledge or doubt had of theſe treaſons, or of his priuitie vntō them, but onely an information and ſuſpition deliuered & conceiued of ſome practiſe betweene him and the Scottiſh Queene, as is before mentioned: For the diſcouering whereof, after he had bene ſundrie times vpon his allegeaunce commanded to declare his doings in conueying and receyuing of letters to and from her, he did voluntarily confeſſe that hee had written diuers letters vnto her, and had conueyed many

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to and fro, betweene her & *Thomas Morgan* in France, by whoſe meanes he was firſt made knowē vnto her, & that he had receiued as many letters from her. Hee alſo declared the effect of his letters to her, & of hers to him: which letters betwene them were alwayes written in Cipher, and the Cipher with the Nullities and markes for names of Princes and Counſailors, hee ſent vnto the Queenes Maieſtie written with his owne hand. Hee alſo deliuered the names of ſome, by whom hee conueyed his letters to the Scottiſh Queene, as by one *Godfrey Fulgeam*, who fled the Realme immediatly vpon *Throckemortons* apprehenſion, and one other perſon, whom hee deſcribed by his ſtature, ſhape, and apparell, and the man ſithens apprehended and examined, hath confeſſed the ſame: the mans name is *William Ardington*.

The ſumme and effect of the moſt part of theſe confeſſions, although they were at the time of his arraignement opened and dilated by her Maieſties Sergeant, Atturney, and Sollicitor generall at the barre, and therefore ſeeme not needefull to be repeated here: yet becauſe the purpoſe of this diſcourſe is to ſhewe ſufficient proofe, that the matters contained in his ſaid confeſſions, are neither falſe nor fayned (as *Francis Throckemorton* moſt impudently affirmed at his triall, alleadging that they were meere inuentions of him ſelfe by pollicie to auoyde the torture) they haue bene here inſerted, to the ende you may the better iudge of the prooфes, preſumptions, and circumſtances folowing, by comparing the matters with their accidents, and conſequently ſee the falſehood of the Traitor, the iuſt and honourable proceedings of her Maieſtie, and the honeſt and loyall endeuours of her Miniſters imployed in the diſcouering of the treaſons.

Firſt, it is true and not denied by himſelfe, that he was at Spawe about the time by him mencioned, and had conference with *Ienney* in that place, and with Sir *Francis Engleſield* in Flaunders, and that hee hath written letters.

to Sir *Frauncis*, and receiued letters from him: for if hee ſhould denie the ſame, he were to be conuinced by good proofe: for it hath bin noted in him by many of his countrey men Engliſh Subiectes, that both in thoſe partes and in Fraunce, hee did continually aſſociate him ſelfe with Engliſh Rebels and Fugitiues. If then you conſider with whom he hath conuerſed beyond the ſeas, and compare his religion with theirs, you will iudge of his conuerſation accordingly: and it is to be ſuppoſed, that thoſe men, knowen to bee continuall practiſers againſt the Queenes Maieſtie and this Realme, from whence for their Treaſons and vnnaturall demeanures they are worthily baniſhed, will not in their conuenticles & meetings forget to bethinke them of their baniſhment, and howe they might be reſtored to their countrey, whereunto no deſert in her Maieſties life time (which God long continue) can well (without her Maieſties great mercie) reſtore them. Then I pray you what conferences might *M. Throckemorton* haue with Sir *Francis Engleſielde*, with *Ienney*, with *Liggons*, with *Owen*, and with ſuch like, who were his daily companions in Fraunce and in the Lowe countreis? He hath written letters to Sir *Frauncis Engleſielde*: to what purpoſes? hee haunted continually two Ambaſſadors in London, by whoſe meanes he ſent and receiued letters to and from beyonde the ſeas daily. To whom, and from whom? euen to and from *Thomas Morgan*, and *Thomas Throckemorton* at Paris, men knowen to her Maieſtie and her Counſell, to be notorious practiſers, very inwarde with the Duke of Guyſe, and contriuers of the Treaſons and deuiſes for the inuaſion intended: and for very certaine knowledge thereof, we needе not be beholding to *Frauncis Throckemorton* onely, (although hee hath ſaide much of them) but to others of better credite then himſelfe.

That the Duke of Guyſe did vndertake the enterpriſe to inuade the Realme with a forraine power, to be defrayed

ſtayed by the Pope and King of Spaine (a partt of *M. Throckemortons* confeſſion) and he in trueth the firſt diſcouerer thereof to her Maieſtie: if hee will ſay that it was but inuention, it will approue falſe. For ſithens he diſcouered the ſame, there haue bene diuers aduertiſements thereof ſent to her Maieſtie from forraine Princes her Highneſſe louing neighbours and Allies, as alſo by other good meanes and intelligences from her Ambaſſadours and ſeruantes reſiding in other Countries.

If he denie (as he hath done) that he neuer had knowledge of any ſuch matter when he confeſſed the ſame, it hath no likelihood of trueth: for *Throckmorton* was neuer knowen to be a Propher to foretell things *de futuro*.

He reſorted often to the Spaniſh Ambaſſadour, at the leaſt twiſe in a weeke when he was in London: this often repayre could not be to conferre with the Ambaſſadour for the exchange of money for his brother, as hee pretended at his arraignement: there was ſome other cauſe. When he was apprehended, he had a Casket couered with greene veluet, very cunningly conueied out of his chamber by a maide ſeruant of the houſe, taken vp vnder a beds ſide in his chamber (one of the gentlemen who were ſent to apprehend him then being in the chamber and vnknowing thereof) which Casket not long after his apprehenſion, was by one *Iohn Meredith* a follower of *Frauncis Throckemorton*, conueyed to the handes of the Spaniſh Ambaſſodour: and why to him? If the matters therein might well haue abidden the light, why ſhoulde not the Casket haue bene kept ſtill at home? and if not there, why not ſent to ſome other place of ſafetie, as well as to the Spaniſh Ambaſſadour? It is to be conceiued, that this Casket was not conueyed thither without the direction of *Frauncis Throckemorton*, though caried by *Meredith*, who did well knowe of what moment the matters were that were within the Casket, and of what danger to *Throckemorton* if they had bene diſcloſed, and therefore

meant to bestowe them in a safe place where they coulde not readily be had (as he thought) and with a person not vnacquainted with the qualitie of them. After the deliuerie of the Casket, *Meredith* fledde: for in trueth hee was priuie to the Treasons, and a fellowe practiser in them: to whom *Francis Throckemorton*, being taken short at the time of his apprehension, and forced to runne vp a staire to deface a letter which hee was then in writing to the Scottish Queene in Cipher (as he hath confessed) being suddenly apprehended, and so forced to depart away presently out of his house, deliuered priuily into the hands of *Meredith*, either the Cipher by the which he was writing his letter to the Scottish Queene, or a letter in Cipher by him written vnto her: therefore he trusted *Meredith* as a man priuie to his doings. You are also to vnderstande, that *Throckemorton* was in very great feare of the discouering of this Casket after his apprehension: for remayning two or three daies prisoner in the house of one of the Gentlemen that were sent to apprehend him, before hee was committed to the Towre, hee was permitted to talke with a Sollicitor of his Law causes, who brought him certaine bookes drawen, or other like papers written, which hee made showe to peruse, but that was not the matter why he sent for his Sollicitor: for in perusing the bookes, he conueyed into them a litle piece of paper, vpō the which he had written with a cole, *I would faine know whether my Casket be safe*, or to the like effect. The Sollicitor departing from him, and resorting to *Throckemortons* house not farre distant from the place where hee remained prisoner, opening his papers, did shake out this piece of paper, which he tooke vp and deliuered to one of *Francis Throckemortons* men, but the Casket was already conueyed to the Spanish Ambassadour: whereby you will perceiue what care he had of the Casket, and howe much it might import him to haue the writings or matters within the same concealed. Hee being examined touching the

Casket,

Casket, and what was in the ſame, hee denied at the firſt, that euer he had any ſuch Casket, but finding afterwards that the Casket was diſcouered, he confeſſed the Casket, and ſaide there were certaine letters therein that came to his hands for the Scottiſh Queene from *Thomas Morgan* at Paris, and other letters and papers, but confeſſed not all, as it is ſuppoſed.

That *Charles Paget* came ouer into the Realme to euill purpoſes, as *Throckemorton* doth declare in his confeſſion, could not be inuented: for euen at the ſame time that he mentioneth, *Paget* came ouer, in ſecrete and ſuſpitious maner, ſtaied not aboue xv. dayes, indeuoured in a ſort to finde the diſpoſition of *William Shelley* Eſquier, howe he might ſtand affected to giue aſsiſtance to the treaſons, although *Paget* diſcouered not directly his traiterous intēts to *Shelley*: therefore all *Throckemortons* confeſsions were not forged or inuented.

But becauſe the two papers produced at his arraigne-ment, containing the deſcription of the Hauens for the commodious landing of forces, do moſt apparantly con-demne him, & are a manifeſt argumēt of his priuitie to the whole treaſō, you may not forget ỳ he acknowledged one of the papers written in the Secretarie hand, to haue bene of his owne doing, but denied the other written in the Romane hande: In the which ynder the title of Cheſhire &c. is ſaid, *Vpon the landing of forraine Supplies, Cheſter ſhall be taken*: but what in your opinions might be vnderſtood by that ſentence, *Cheſter ſhal be taken*, when you ſhal com-pare the paper in Setretarie hand with the other written in the Romane hand, intituled, *The Names of Noblemen and Gentlemen in euery Countie fitte to bee dealt withall in this matter*, (which in trueth were both one, although the Ro-mane were ſomewhat more inlarged.) The queſtion is to be asked, *what matter?* The anſwere followeth neceſſa-rilie, *To aſſiſt the forraine forces that ſhall come to inuade the Realme*: for that there is an other title in that paper

ouer the names of the hauens, &c. *Hauens in euery coaſt fitte for the landing of forces.* Now iudge you, to what end theſe names of men and deſcriptions of hauens, their entries, *Capacities*, what windes bring vnto them from Spaine, France and Flanders, were written and ſet downe by *Throckemorton*: the papers are both of his owne hand writing, and the Secretarie but a proiect or copie of the Romane.

Is it not likely thinke you, that he would acquaint the Spaniſh Ambaſſadour with theſe papers (as he hath confeſſed) when he made him partaker of the reſt of his traiterous practiſes & deuices as you haue heard, & thought his Casket of treaſons to be moſt ſafely committed to his hands? It may bee thought that there is no man of ſo ſimple vnderſtanding, that will iudge to the contrarie, vnleſſe he be partially affected to excuſe the treaſons.

And now to ſhew vnto you what minde this man hath caried towards her Maieſtie, you are to bee informed that *Francis Throckemorton*, after he had diſcouered to her Maieſtie his courſe of practiſing, repenting himſelfe of his plaine dealing in ỳ bewraying thereof, ſayd to ſome of the Commiſſioners vpon occaſion of ſpeach, *I woulde I had bene hanged when I firſt opened my mouth to declare any of the matters by me confeſſed.* And being at other times ſent vnto by her Maieſtie with offer of pardon, if he would diſcloſe the whole packe and complices of the treaſons, hee vſed this argument to perſwade her Maieſtie that he had confeſſed all, ſaying that ſithens hee had alreadie brought himſelfe by his confeſſions within ỳ danger of the lawes, to the vtter ruyne of his houſe and familie, hee wondered why there ſhould be any conceite in her Maieſtie, that he had not declared all. But to perſwade ſuch as were ſent vnto him for theſe purpoſes, the rather to beleeue that he could diſcouer no more, at one time hee vſed theſe ſpeaches following with great vehemencie: *Nowe I haue diſcloſed the ſecrets of her who was the deareſt thing vnto me in the*

the worlde (meaning the Scottish Queene) *and whome I thought no torment shoulde haue drawen mee so much to haue preiudiced as I haue done by my confessions, I see no cause why I shoulde spare any one, if I could say ought against him: & sith I haue failed of my faith towards her, I care not if I were hanged.* And when hee beganne first to confesse his treasons, which hee did most vnwillingly, after he was entred into the declaration of them, before all the Commissioners, vpon aduisement, hee desired hee might deliuer his knowledge but to one of them onely, whereunto they yeelded, and thereupon remouing aside from the place where hee sate by the Racke, he vsed this prouerbe in Italian, *Chi a perso la fede, a perso l'honore*, that is, He that hath falsed his faith, hath lost his reputation: Meaning thereby (as it may be conceiued) that he had giuen his faith to be a Traitor, and not to reueale the treasons, and then beg ãto confesse as you haue heard.

By this discourse, containing the principal heads of his treasons, and the proofes & circumstãces of the same, you that are not transported with vnduetiful mindes & affections, will cleerely perceiue how impudently and vntruely he denyed at his arraignement the trueth of his confessions, charging her Maiestie with cruelty, & her ministers with vntruethes in their proceeding against him.

But the cause that moued him thereunto, was a vaine conceite he had taken, that his case was cleere in Law by the intermission of the time betwene his confession made & his arraignmẽt, grounding himselfe vpon a Statute of the 13. yere of her Maiesties Reigne, in ỹ which there are certaine treasons specified & made of that nature, that no person shalbe arraigned for any of those offences cõmitted within any of the Queenes Maiesties dominions, vnlesse the offender be thereof indicted within sixe moneths next after the same offence committed, & shal not be arraigned for ỹ same, vnlesse the offence be proued by the testimonie and othe of two sufficient witnesses, or his voluntary con-

feſsion without violence: wherein hee was greatly deceiued: for it was made manifeſt vnto him by the L. chiefe Iuſtice & other of the Iudges in Commiſsion at his triall, that his treaſons were puniſhable by a Statute of xxv. Edw. 3. which admitted no ſuch limitation of time or proofe.

Herein his skill failed him, and forgot the aduice giuen vnto him by ſome of the Commiſsioners, who (pitying his misfortune for ſundrie good giftes of the minde appearing in him) aſſured him that there was no way ſo ready for him to redeeme his life, as by ſubmiſsion and acknowledging of his offence, which, for a time after hee had confeſſed his treaſons, he was contented to followe, and nowe eftſoones after his condemnation by a new ſubmiſsion to the Queenes Maieſtie the fourth of Iune hath reſumed that courſe. The ſubmiſsion *verbatim* written with his owne hand, followeth.

To her moſt excellent Maieſtie, euen to her owne Royall handes.

MOſt excellent Prince, and my moſt gratious Soueraigne, ſith to mee the moſt miſerable of all your Maieſties poore diſtreſſed ſubiects, being iuſtly condemned by the ordinarie and orderly courſe of your Maieſties Lawes, there reſteth no further meane of defence but ſubmiſsion: vouchſafe, moſt excellent Prince, graciouſly to accept the ſame, which proſtrate in all humilitie, I here preſent vnto the hands of your moſt excellent Maieſtie, beſeeching the ſame, that as Iuſtice hath bene deriued from your highneſſe, as from the fountaine, to the triall of mine actions: ſo I may receiue from the ſame ſpring ſome droppe of grace and mercie for the great and grieuous offence whereof I reſt by your Maieſties Lawes iuſtly condemned: ſome part, I ſay, of that your accuſtomed gratious clemencie, whereof moſt your diſtreſſed ſubiects haue taſted, & few bene deprined. And albeit the inconſiderate raſhneſſe of

vnbridled

vnbridled youth hath withdrawen me from that loyall respect, which nature and duetie bound mee to owe vnto your Maiestie, as to my lawfull and naturall dread soueraigne, and that the naturall care in me of the defence of my life mooued mee lately to the vntrue and vnduetifull gainsaying of some such pointes as had bene before by me in most humble sort confessed: neuertheles, I most humblie beseech your most excellent Maiestie, that in imitation of God, whose image (both in respect of the happie place you holde, as also in regarde of your singular wisedome and other the rare and singular vertues & perfections wherewith God and nature hath plentifully indewed you) you represent vnto vs here in earth, it may please your Maiestie to commiserate the lamentable estate of mee now the most miserable of all your Maiesties subiectes, and graciously to graunt vnto me remission and forgiuenes, that not only doe most humbly confesse my selfe worthie of death, but also in shewe of my repentance and sorowfull afflicted minde, doe not craue at your Maiesties handes the prolonging of my life, if the same shall not stand with your gratious good pleasure, but rather desire the trebling of the torment iustly by your Maiesties lawes imposed vpon mee, if the same may bee any satisfaction to your Maiestie for the haynous cryme whereof I remayne by your Maiesties lawes iustly condemned, or any mitigation of your Maiesties indignation worthily conceiued against me, that desire not to liue without your fauour, and dying will wish from my heart, that my ende may bee the beginning of your Maiesties securitie, and my death the preseruation of your life, and the increase both to your Maiestie, and to this your most flourishing common wealth, of all the most happie blessings of almightie God.

Your Maiesties most woful subiect in that he hath offended you.

Francis Throckemorton.

HE ſent vnto her Maieſtie together with the ſayde ſubmiſſion, a declaration written likewiſe with his owne hand, contayning the effects of the moſt principall pointes of his treaſons formerly confeſſed: retracting onely the accuſation of his Father, and ſome other particularities of no moment to cleare him of his treaſons, the effect whereof followeth in his owne wordes, as he ſet them downe.

The declaration.

THe onely cauſe why I coyned the practiſe firſt by mee confeſſed, & vniuſtly touched my father, was, for that partly I conceiued that the paper written ſo long ſithens, could not now by lawe haue touched me: but principally, for that I was willing thereby to colour the ſetting downe of thoſe names and hauens in Romane hand, which were written long after the time by mee confeſſed vpon occaſion of conference betweene the Spaniſh Ambaſſadour & me of this later practiſe.

Mine intelligence with the Scottiſh Queene began a little before Chriſtmas was two yeeres: the Cipher I had from *Thomas Morgan* in Fraunce: the firſt letter I receiued by *Godfray Fulgeam*, by whome alſo came all ſuch others as I after receiued for the moſt part, vnleſſe it were ſuch as came to me by *F. A.* his hands, who as hee tolde mee, receiued them of the fellowe by me ſpoken of in my former confeſſion, whoſe name, I proteſt before God, I knowe not, nor whence he is. And for ſuch letters as came vnto me in the abſence of *Fulgeam*, they were incloſed vnder a couerture from *Fulgeam*, & were deliuered me by the hands of *Robert Tunſtead* his brother in Law, to whom I deliuered ſuch as I had for the Scottiſh Queene, couered with a direction to *Fulgeam*, and once I remember or twiſe I ſent by one of my men called Butler, letters for the Scottiſh Queene to the houſe of the ſaid *Tunſtead*, neere Buckſtones, couered with a direction to *Tunſtead*, and vnder a letter to *Fulgeam*. In ſuch letters as came to me frō ỹ Scottiſh Q. were incloſed letters to *F. A.* many times, & moſt

William Ardington.

times

times ſome for *Thomas Morgan*. Her letters to mee contayned, &c. But before I returned mine anſwere to her, I vnderſtoode of the death of the *Duke of Lenox*, and withall heard from *Morgan*, with whom all mine intelligence was (for with my brother I neuer had any, other then that the matters by mee written to *Morgan*, were by him imparted to my brother moſt times) that by the perſwaſion of the Pope and the King of Spayne, the *Duke of Guyſe* had yeelded to performe the iourney in perſon: and that it was thought that the next way to attaine libertie for the Scottiſh Queene, and to reforme Stotlande, was to begin here in England, and therefore he deſired to knowe from mee, whether in mine opinion Catholiques woulde not backe any ſuch force as ſhould be ſent, conſidering a demande of tolerance in religion for them, ſhould enſue the wel performing of the ſaid enterpriſe, and what I thought the force would amount vnto, both of horſe and footemen, and where I thought to be the fitteſt landing. Mine anſwere was, that as then, I ſawe no great probabilitie of the good ſucceſſe of ſuch an enterpriſe, for that the Catholiques were timorous, diſperſed, the matter perilous to be communicated to many, without which I ſaw not how any eſtimate could be made of the forces: beſides, that it was an imminent danger to the Scottiſh Queene, wherof I ſawe no remedy.

I tooke notice of this matter in my next letters to the Scottiſh Queene, whoſe anſwere was, that ſhee lately heard of that determination, &c.

Vpon my former anſwere to *Morgan*, he deſired me, ẏ I would conferre with the Spaniſh Ambaſſadour, to whō I ſhoulde bee recommended from thence: hereupon the ſaid Ambaſſadour ſent for mee, and brake with me in this matter, aſſuring me ẏ in his opinion he found it very eaſie to make great alteration here with very little force, conſidering the diſuſe in men to warre, and troubles woulde ſo amaſe them (as he thought) that they woulde bee aſſoone

ouerthrowen as assailed, and he could not thinke but in such a case Catholikes would shewe themselues, sith the purpose tended to the obteining for them libertie of conscience: and therefore hee desired mee to acquaint him, what I thought men would doe in such a case, and where I thought the fittest landing, and what holdes in these partes were easiest to be surprised.

I answered him, that as it seemed, the enterprise stood vpon great incertainties, if it depended of the knowledge of a certaine force to be found here, which no man could assure him of, vnlesse he had sounded all the Catholikes, which was not possible without a manifest hazarde of the discouerie of the purpose: for as for any great personage, I know no one to be drawen into this action, that could carie any more then his ordinarie retinew: the onely way in such a case was (I tolde him) for such as woulde bee drawen into this matter, and were of credite in their countreys, to leuie forces vnder colour of the Princes authoritie.

But for that these things depended vpon vncertaine groundes, which was not fit to be vsed in so great an action, I said it was to be resolued, that the force to bee sent should be of that number, that what backing soeuer they should finde here, they might be able of themselues to encounter with any force that might be prouided to be sent against them, and therefore they could not be lesse then 15000. men. For the place of their landing, I said it depended much vpon the force that should be sent: for if that were in great number, it mattered not where they landed: if in a small companie, then was it requisite that it should be in the Countreys best affected, and furthest from her Maiesties principall forces, which I said to be in the Northren parts on either side.

To the danger of the Scottish Queene by me obiected, he said he knewe no remedie, vnlesse she might be taken away by some 200. horse, which I tolde him I sawe

not

not to be possible, for that I knewe not any Gentleman in those partes (which were men, if any, to perfourme it) that I durst wish to be made acquainted with the matter before hande.

Finally, our conclusion was, that I should informe him of the Hauens as particularly as I could: and within fewe dayes after, finding by him that the force intended hither, was farre inferiour to that I spake of, and that there was some different betweene the Pope and the king of Spaine for the charge, I tolde him that the surest course and of least danger were, to send a supplie into Scotland, where a small force would breede a great alteration, and things being there established by the good liking of the king, I thought it was in him by a continual warre, and by incursions so to anoy this state, as her Maiestie here shoulde be forced to yeelde the libertie of the Scottish Queene, and what should thereupon haue bene reasonably demaunded for the benefite of Catholikes here. And herein I saide it would be a great furtherance, if at the same time some fewe were landed in Irelande, where, although they abid the same hazarde that the former forces sustained, yet would the charge be so great to her Maiestie, and so great an occasion of dispersing of her forces, as a much lesse companie then was spoken of first by me, would (being landed here in a conuenient place) shake the mindes of men generally, and be of force (if any thing) to drawe them to shewe themselues, in the furtherance of the purpose.

He vtterly reiected the purpose for Ireland, and disliked not the purpose for Scotlande: but still he was in minde to haue forces landed here, and therefore desired me very earnestly to inquire particularly of the Hauens on the side of Cumberland and Lancashire, and what men were dwelling there that were well affected in religion, and what places easie to be taken, and what apt for fortification,

The next time that I went to the Spanish Ambassadour he founde himselfe agrieued that he vnderstoode matters were determined in France without his priuitie: and told me that *Parsons* the Iesuite was gone to Rome, sent as hee thought, to vnderstand the Popes minde.

Soone after came ouer my brother *Thomas*, to make an ende of our accompt, and to perswade mee to come ouer, assuring mee that for ought hee could see in likelihood, the enterprise was neuer like to take effect. In the time of his being heere, and whyle I entertained intelligence with the Scottish Queene concerning her libertie, the Spanish Ambassadour sent for mee, and tolde me of the comming ouer of *Mope* to viewe Sussex and the Hauens, and as he thought, to taste the best of accopt there: whereat he seemed to bee agrieued, for that such matters had not bene left to him, being one that they in France made beleeue that they relyed vpon principally in this enterpryse. Afterwardes, the Ambassadour tolde mee that it was *Charles Paget*, and that hee was returned, but where hee had bene hee knewe not, and at the same time I receiued a letter from *Morgan*, that it was *Paget*: but assuring me, and so willed mee to assure the Ambassadour, that his comming was not to moue any man, but onely to viewe the countrey, for that the mooning of any man was referred to him. I did so: and he intreated me to remember him for those foresayde names and Hauens, saying that so it were done exactly by the Spring, it would suffice: for that sooner he sawe no likelihoode of the execution of the enterprise.

My brother hauing made an ende of his accompt with me, returned with this resolution betweene vs, (I protest before God,) that if the enterprise succeeded not between this and the next Spring nowe past, that I woulde settle my things here and goe ouer. And for this cause, he being gone, I went downe into the countrey, both to sell and take order for my land in those partes, as also to fetch the draught

draught of Gentlemē & Hauens for the most part of Eng: land, which had bene set downe by me aboue two yeeres since, and left behinde me at Feckenham in my Studie.

Not finding the draught at Feckenham, I returned to London, where I founde the note of names in Secretarie hande, which I caried to the Spanish Ambassadour, and there drewe that other in Romane hande in his Studie, putting downe *Chester* to be taken, in respect of the easinesse as I thought, and the rather to giue him incouragement in the matter. I left it with him, promising him that by the next spring I would perfect it, if I caried so long, making knowen vnto him, that I was had in suspition, and my determination to be gone: but he prest the contrarie of me, assuring me, that if the enterprise proceeded not, he would then also depart.

Whether Sir *Francis Englefielde* were a dealer in this practise or no, I know not: but sure I am (for so the Spanish Ambassadour tolde me) that Sir *Francis* had intelligence with the said Ambassadour all the time of his being here.

The Spanish Ambassadour tolde me that hee heard the people of Northwales were generally well affected, and therefore he desired to haue the hauens of that countrie: I tolde him that hereafter I would helpe him thereunto, although no good might be expected there, for the reasons by me set downe in my first confession; and hereupon the day before mine apprehension, the Ambassadour sent me backe the said paper in Romane hande, desiring me to set downe the same at my leasure more exactly, which was the cause that it was not in my greene veluet Casket. The writings in my Casket were such as were by mee confessed, and came vnto my hands as I haue confessed.

I Most humbly beseeche her most excellent Maiestie, that the extremitie which I haue already sustayned, and the causes by me discouered, to the safetie of her Maiestie and the state, not made knowen (as hath appeared) by any other meane then by my selfe, may craue at her handes,

the extending of her gratious commiseration towardes the relieuing of the lamentable estate of mee, her Maesties poore distressed subiect, & mine, if God for mine offences forbid not the same.

Nowe iudge all yee, that bee not peruersly affected, whether *Throckemorton* bee iustly condemned, and whether his confessions (though as hee pretended, extorted from him by violence) bee of force in Lawe against him: hee hath conspired to ouerthrowe the state: to bring in strangers to inuade the Realme: to remoue her Maiestie from her lawfull and naturall right and inheritance to the Crowne of England, and to place a stranger in her seate: but this last point, for placing of a stranger, will (perchaunce) bee denyed: then note, that in the whole course of the practise, the greatest barre to the prosecution of the enterprise, was, they founde no way how to put the Scottish Queene in safetie. Then, if these dangerous treasons bee discouered by torture, (the onely meanes left vnto Princes to discouer treasons and attemptes against their States and Persons, where they finde apparant matter to induce suspition, as in the case of *Throckemorton*, vpon sight of the plottes of hauens &c.) may the Law touch the traitour or not? If any man holde this question negatiuely, holde him for a friend to traitours and treasons, and an enemie to the Queenes Maiestie, whome God long preserue, and confound her enemies.

FINIS.